

The Concept of l'homme sauvage and early French colonialism in the Americas

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Résumé

On attribue généralement en Europe l'origine du concept de « l'homme sauvage » à la découverte du Nouveau Monde et à celle des Amérindiens. L'étude de ce concept révèle toutefois que ses débuts sont à la fois plus complexes et beaucoup plus anciens que cet aperçu ne l'indique d'abord. Ainsi, les Scythes étaient considérés comme « sauvages » par l'Antiquité, et c'est en suivant cette tradition que les écrivains de la Renaissance ont comparé les Amérindiens avec les « Scythiens ». Il semble caractéristique de toute civilisation d'avoir classé les étrangers comme barbares. En Europe, la personnification des forces anti-sociales comme « homme sauvage » (wood-house ou wodewose en Angleterre, wildeman dans les régions allemandes et flamandes), se sont propagées au XIII^e siècle. Ce personnage se reconnaît facilement : barbu, couvert de poil, portant une massue ou un arbre déraciné pour indiquer la force brute, errant en solitaire au sein des forêts. Incapable de gouverner ses passions, quasi cannibale et dépourvu de toute raison, cette manifestation mythologique paraît être le produit d'une convergence des divinités sylvaines de l'Antiquité avec les premiers primates qui aient été aperçus en Afrique et en Orient. « L'homme sauvage », est devenu un personnage populaire des carnivals et des spectacles, participant même aux tournois ; il a pris sa retraite comme support héraldique, situation où on le trouve encore aujourd'hui. Plus tard, on l'a identifié avec les Amérindiens en dépit des efforts des administrateurs coloniaux et des missionnaires pour combattre cette idée. Quoiqu'ils réfutassent la notion selon laquelle les Amérindiens fussent poilus, ces administrateurs ont accepté qu'ils fussent des « sauvages ». Si cette considération fut vite reconnue fausse par certains intellectuels, comme Montaigne — et il ne fut nullement le premier — elle n'était pas reconnue pour autant dans le domaine politique. Cette attitude a profondément influencé les rapports de l'Europe avec le Nouveau Monde et, ce faisant, a frayé la voie au grand mouvement colonisateur qui fit suite à sa découverte. L'ironie fut que les Amérindiens, comme les Européens, ont aussi personnifié les forces anti-sociales par un « sauvage poilu », dont un exemple bien connu fut le Sasquatch de la côte du Nord-Ouest.

Abstract

The formation of the concept of "l'homme sauvage" in Europe is usually traced to the discovery of the New World and Amerindians. However, an examination of the idea of savagery reveals that its origins are both more complex and far older than such a view would indicate. For example the Scythians were to the classical world what the Amerindians were to become to Europe ; when Renaissance writers compared the latter to the former, they were thinking within classical traditions. It seems to be characteristic of all civilizations to class outsiders as barbarians. However, in Europe, the personification of anti-social forces as Vhomme sauvage (wood-house or wodewose in Britain, wildeman in Germanic and Flemish areas) became popular about the 13th century. This is an easily recognizable figure, bearded and hairy, carrying a club or uprooted tree to indicate great strength, and living a solitary life in the forests. A creature of uncontrolled passions and a tendency toward cannibalism as well as being devoid of reason, he seems to have emerged in this particular manifestation from a blending of classical woodland deities with reports of anthropoid apes, perhaps from early voyages along the coast of Africa and to the Orient. In any event, Vhomme sauvage became a standard figure in carnivals and pageantry, even taking part in tournaments, and finally retiring into heraldry, where he remains to this day as a supporting figure in crests. Further, he became firmly identified with Amerindians in the minds of Europeans, in spite of efforts of colonial officials and missionaries to disabuse them of the idea. But even as officials denied that Amerindians were hairy, they accepted them as savage. While the error of this assessment was quickly recognized on the intellectual level, as witness Montaigne (and he was by no means the first), it was not acknowledged in the arena of practical politics. It profoundly influenced Europe's relations with the New World, and paved the way for the great colonization movements that followed on the heels of discovery. The irony of it all was that Amerindians, just like Europeans, conceptualized anti-social forces as hairy savages, one manifestation of which is the well-known Sasquatch of the North-West Coast.

The Concept of *l'homme sauvage* and early French colonialism in the Americas*

by

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Europe's discovery of the Amerindian is usually represented as being her first large-scale encounter with man living in a state of nature. According to this view, it was that experience which was largely responsible for the development of the European idea of *l'homme sauvage*, the savage who could be either noble or debased, but who in any event was not civilized. Such achievements as the city-states of Mexico, Central America or Peru were either overlooked or else were dismissed as being at the best barbarous. An examination of the concept of savagery reveals that its origins are both more complex and far older than such a view would indicate. In fact, it involved the well-known Renaissance folkloric figure of the Wild Man, early Christian perceptions of monkeys, apes and baboons, and the classical Greek and Roman tradition of the noble savage¹.

Columbus's encounter with the Arawaks and Caribs did not introduce Europeans to a previously unknown kind of man; what it did was to add a new dimension to an already existing idea, that of *l'homme sauvage*, by revealing multitudes in the New World that appeared to Europeans to fit the concept. Alternatively, Renaissance Europe applied the term "barbarian" to these new peoples, often as a syno-

* This article is drawn from the third chapter of my doctoral thesis, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas*, University of Ottawa, 1976.

1. William N. FENTON discusses the concept of savagery in his introduction to Father Joseph-François LAFITAU's *Customs of the American Indians...*, Toronto, 1974, LI-LIV, as does FRANCIS JENNINGS, *The Invasion of America*, Chapel Hill, 1975, 74-80.

nym for "savage" but sometimes to indicate an ameliorated form of savagery. Eventually, the sheer weight of numbers of those they had so readily labelled "savage" caused Europeans to give new attention to its concept of *l'homme sauvage*, and consequently to the whole question of man in relation to his society. The idea of savagery had been around for a long time, but what exactly did it mean? How did it differ from civility? The word "civilization" did not come into general use until toward the end of the 17th century.

A modern French definition of the word "savage", that of Larousse, says that among other things it means not cultivated, tamed or domesticated, that which frightens easily. Applied to men, it denotes a person who lives away from society, beyond the pale of its laws, without fixed abode; by analogy, one who is rude and fierce². Larousse introduces these definitions with the statement that in old French the adjective "salvage" or "sauvage" simply signified the forest habitat, and was a synonym for the Latin *sylvaticus*. The time boundaries implied by the word "ancient" are not specified; but it can be assumed that the 16th and 17th centuries are included in that term. A survey of French writing during that period, however, does not support the thesis that at that epoch "sauvage" meant simply living in the woods. In that intensely religious age, the medieval habit of viewing man in moral terms was still far too deeply implanted for such a neutral use to have been anything but desultory. While shades of emphasis could and did vary from writer to writer, the general implication was always clear: to be savage meant to be living according to nature, in a manner "plus approchant des bêtes farouches que des hommes"³. In other words, as far as the word itself was concerned, the beast far outweighed the innocent.

Sainte-Palaye said the word was used in this sense well before the Age of Discovery. He compiled his *Dictionnaire historique* during the 18th century; in it he traced the meanings of words from their origins to the time of Louis XIV. He listed eight meanings for "sauvage", of which the first was "not tamed" and the last, "extraordinary". In between are such definitions as solitary, uncivilized, ferocious, demented and foreign⁴. Richelet, whose dictionary was

2. Pierre LAROUSSE (1817-1875), *Grand dictionnaire universel*, Paris, 1905, 17 vols. Similar definitions are given by Oxford and Webster. The latter adds another meaning, that of "a man holding radical political views".

3. Giovanni Antonio MAFFEO, *Histoire universelle des Indes...*, Douay, 1605, 98. Sebastian MÜNSTER, in his *Cosmographie* (1556) placed barbarians, savages and monsters all in the same category.

4. Jean-Baptiste de LA CURNÉ DE SAINTE-PALAYE (1697-1781), *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois; ou Glossaire de la langue françoise depuis son origine jusqu'au siècle de Louis XIV*, Niort, 1875-1882, 10 vols.

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published in 1680, said the word applied to fierce persons who were the enemies of society and agreeable conversation⁵. Furetière in his *Dictionnaire universel* (1691), defined a savage as a man without regular habitation, without religion, law or civility. Nearly all of America, he said, had been found peopled with savages, most of whom were cannibals. He added, "Les Sauvages vont nuds, & sont velus, couvert de poil"⁶.

That rather startling description of Amerindians as naked hairy savages will be dealt with later. But first let us see how Europeans initially spoke of Arawaks, cannibal Caribs and other New World men. Columbus called them "Indians" and, except in the case of armed encounters, did not refer to them as "savages"⁷. Neither did Vespucci, although he found some of them brutish and loathsome, cruel of nature and barbarous in their manner of living. Also, he reported that cannibals were "very savage"⁸. In general, however, apart from Columbus's "Indians", the terms generally used for referring to New World men were "hommes", "gens", "habitants", "indigènes", or most likely, "cannibals". But it is nonetheless evident, from reading early voyage accounts, that Europeans had quickly equated New World men with savagery. This is indicated, for example, by Cartier's comment, reporting on Amerindians he met on his first voyage: "Celle gent se peult nommer sauvaiges car c'est la plus pouvre gence qu'il puisse estre au monde; car tous ensemble n'avoyent la valeur de cinq solz, leurs barques et leurs raitz à pescher hors"⁹.

Cartier did not explain what he meant by the word "savage" beyond the lack of material possessions and a consequent style of living which he did not consider acceptable. This equation of New World men with savagery is also evident in those early illustrations which attempted to depict "la frayeur subite" which Amerindians initially experienced at the approach of Spaniards¹⁰. One of the definitions of "sauvage" considered above was "that which frightens easily". However the term "savage" does not appear frequently

5. Pierre RICHELET, *Dictionnaire françois...*, Genève, 1680.

6. Abbé Antoine FURETIÈRE, *Dictionnaire universel...*, La Haye & Rotterdam, 1691, 2 vols.

7. Christophe COLOMB, *Œuvres*, translated and annotated by Alexandre Cioranescu, Paris, 1973.

8. *The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci*, London, 1893; and Martin WALDSEEMÜLLER, *Cosmographiae introductio*, s.l., 1509.

9. Henry Percival BIGGAR, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, Ottawa, 1924, 60-61.

10. *Ibid.*, 37. This "frayeur subite" was later considered to be one of the reasons why the Spanish were able to conquer the Amerindians so rapidly. François CORÉAL, *Voyages... aux Indes occidentales...*, Paris, 1722, 2 vols., 2, 132; Andreas LAZARUS VON IMHOF, *Le Grand theatre historique*, Leyden, 1703, 3 vols, III, liv. IV, 176.

in print until about the middle of the 16th century; by the third quarter it was in general use. During the 17th century, writers were calling all the inhabitants of the New World "savages", whether they were descended from the court poets of the city-states of Central and South America or were nomadic hunters following caribou in the austere North.

In his benign aspect, the savage was represented during these two centuries as living in "l'enfance de la Nature" or, more ideally, in a Golden Age, that concept from classical antiquity that had never ceased to haunt Europeans' minds. "Ils se contentent, en effet, de si peu" ¹¹; or, in the words of Vespucci, "they live content with what nature gives them" ¹². In his adverse aspect, the savage was "une Statue vegetale, un Phantosme de chair et d'os, un Homme artificiel qui ne se remue que par force" ¹³. He was without heart for his natural responsibilities, had no eye for the beauties of nature, did not even have names for painting and sculpture; he could not appreciate music or fine perfume, and ate his food raw, bloody and still living. Solitary and alone in the midst of others, he was indifferent to suffering and cruelty, "n'ayant pas affections honnestes et naturelles" ¹⁴.

Such representations, while graphic, were not considered satisfactory explanations of savagery, even at the time. How was it to be defined? First of all, it was far removed from reason. In the words of d'Avity, "On doit estimer barbare ceux dont les façons & coustumes s'éloignent extraordinairement de la droite raison" ¹⁵. The belief of the day held that this was a natural consequence of a lack of knowledge of God, which was a prerequisite for mental activity. This

11. Pierre Martyr ANGHIERA, *De Orbe Novo*, éd. et trad. Paul Gaffarel, Paris, 1907, 55.

12. sir Clements MARKHAM, ed. *Letters of Amerigo Vespucci*, London, 1894, 9.

13. Pierre LE MOYNE, *Les Peintures morales...*, Paris, 1640-1643, 2 vols, 2, 620-629.

14. *Ibid.* *Le Mercure françois*, France's official newspaper during the first part of the 17th century, described Amerindians thus: "Quant aux façons de faire des Sauvages, c'est assez de dire qu'elles sont tout à fait sauvages. Depuis le matin jusques au soir, il n'ont autre soucy que de remplir leur ventre... Ils sont de vrais gueux s'il en fut jamais, & neantmoins superbes au possible... les vices de la chair fort frequents chez eux... de netteté chez eux il ne s'en parle point, ils sont fort sales en leur manger & dans leurs cabanes..." (*Troisième tome*, Paris, 1629, 16.) During the 19th century, Daniel G. Brinton was to theorize that a hunting culture bred a disregard for human suffering, a vindictive spirit, a tendency to sanguinary rites, and an inappeasable restlessness. "The law with reason objects to accepting a butcher as a juror on a trial for life; here is a whole race of butchers." *The Myths of the New World. A Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America*, New York, 1876, 21-22.

15. Pierre d'AVITY, *Les Etats, Empires et Principautez du monde...*, Paris, 1619, 315.

was St. Augustine's position. That it had long been held to be applicable to Amerindians is indicated by the commission Jacques Cartier received for his third Canadian voyage from Francis I, which refers to the people of Canada "vivans sans cognoissance de Dieu et Sans usage de raison" ¹⁶. La Croix wrote : "Je mets au rang des bestes les peuples sauvages qui n'usent point de raison" ¹⁷. Oviedo's view of the mindless savage was equally unflattering :

Ilz ont... l'os de la teste si dur, si gros & espes, que la principale chose, de laquelle les Chrestiens se donnent garde, quand ils se batent avec eulx, c'est de ne leur donner aucun coup de taille sur la teste, pour ne rompre leurs espees. ¹⁸

According to such views, the contemporary savage was a retrograde figure ; the first man, living off acorns and chestnuts was more polite and polished than he ¹⁹. This position, however, was not so clear to Antoine de Montchrestien (c. 1575-1621), dramatist and economist, who found that Amerindians were

assez subtil d'esprit, mais ignorant de nos arts, soit de paix ou de guerre. Ils ne tiennent la terre appartenir à aucun particulier, non plus que la lumière du soleil... Ils ne labourent ni ne cultivent qu'autant qu'il est requis pour leur nourriture... Ils sont totalement nez à la liberté et pourtant peu laborieux. Ils estiment surtout la valeur... Bref, s'il étoit possible de leur ôter ce qu'ils ont de mauvais et de mettre au lieu ce que nous avons de bon, c'est à dire de leur donner nos vertus sans mélange de nos vices, ce seroient de braves hommes. ²⁰

In other words, it was not so much lack of reason or even retrogression that made them savages, as it was the fact they were not like Europeans.

16. Public Archives of Canada, Archives des Colonies, C¹¹A1, 10. The task of the missionaries was to render "les sauvages raisonnables", to enable them to become Christian and sedentary ; *ibid.*, C¹¹A3, 299-300, "Description du Canada", 1671. The original Archives des Colonies are in Paris ; the Public Archives of Canada have duplicated these holdings, either by microfilming or by transcription, because of their pertinence to Canadian history.

17. Emery de LA CROIX, *Le Nouveau Cynée*, Paris, 1623, 26. In the Spanish colonies, the term "gente de razón" was reserved for whites and mestizos. Robert RICARD, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, transl. by Leslie Byrd Simpson, Berkeley, 1966, 291.

18. Gonzalo Fernández de OVIEDO Y VALDÉS, *L'Histoire naturelle des isles et terre ferme de la grand mer oceane...*, Paris, 1555, 68 v^o.

19. The view of the savage as a retrograde figure reached its fullest development during the 19th century. For example, Pierre-Simon Ballanche (1776-1847) wrote : "L'état sauvage ou de barbarie n'est qu'une dégénération dont nous n'avons pas pu suivre les périodes, mais qui certainement n'est ni un état naturel, ni un état primitif". *Essai sur les institutions sociales*, Paris, 1833, reprint, Geneva, 1967, 224.

20. Antoine de MONTCHRESTIEN, *Traicté de l'oeconomie politique*, s.l.n.d., 269.

To d'Avity, the non-use of reason was the most important of five "degrés de brutalité" ²¹. By using the term "degré" he imparted a hierarchy to brutishness, a concept congenial to the Renaissance ethos. The second level of savagery he found in the manner of procuring food — hunting and gathering, living like beasts off the land, rather than practicing agriculture. There was also the nature of the food to consider. The Amerindian diet contained elements which in the eyes of Europeans could at best be considered "savage". Herrera said of the people of Cuba that they ate "many filthy things, as large Spiders, Worms breeding in rotten Wood and other nasty Places, and Fish half raw, for as soon as taken, before boiling, they pull'd out their eyes, and eat them, which things any Spaniard would loath" ²².

This concern with the diet of the Amerindian was the logical consequence of the widespread belief "que nostre complexion suit la nourriture" ²³. The implication of this, of course, was that "il faut que la nourriture sauvage soit suivie d'une complexion & nature sauvage" ²⁴. Amerindians made similar observations concerning Europeans. A shaman accused Hennepin of eating serpents and poison, adding that such folk as the Recollet missionary ate thunderbolts ²⁵. Amerindians also shared the European belief that one develops the characteristics of the food one eats — a hunter, for instance, who ate of a slow-moving animal risked losing his speed ²⁶; and as is well-known in the case of cannibalism, eating the heart of a brave enemy was motivated by the desire to acquire his courage. Lack of regular meal hours was also cited by Europeans to prove Amerindian savagery ²⁷. Even

21. Pierre d'AVITY, *Estats, Empres*, 315.

22. ANTONIO DE HERRERA Y TORDESILLAS, *The General History of... the West-Indies*, London, 1725-1726, 6 vols., 1, 58.

23. D'AVITY, *Estats, Empires*, 316.

24. *Ibid.* This belief eventually faded before the necessity to adapt to Amerindian ways, including Amerindian diet, in order to survive in the New World. In 1687 an aide-de-camp to Denonville wrote that the Jesuits were hospitable enough "quoique la nourriture soit fort mechante n'ayant ny pain ny vin ny viande mais seulement un peu de bled d'Inde moulu que lon fait cuire dans leau avec un peu de poisson". ERNEST SERRIGNY, chevalier de Baugy, *Journal d'une expédition contre les Iroquois en 1687*, Paris, 1883, 181. The reader will recognize the Amerindian recipe for sagamité. (The word "sagamité" is of Algonkian origin; according to early reports; R. G. THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations...*, Cleveland, 1896, 73 vols, 68, 91, it derives from *tchi sagamiteou*, "the broth... is hot".)

25. LOUIS HENNEPIN, *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, London, 1698, 2 vols., 2, 84. The same accusations were used by the Hurons against the French in an attempt to obstruct the efforts of Father Joseph de La Roche Daillon to establish a mission among the Neutrals in 1626. CHRESTIEN LE CLERCQ, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, ed. and transl. by John G. Shea, New York, 1887, 2 vols., 1, 267.

26. ANDRÉ THEVET, *Cosmographie universelle*, Paris, P. L'Huillier, 1575, 930.

27. MARKHAM, *Letters of Vespucci*, 7.

worse, Amerindians took their food from the ground, without napkin or any other cloth, eating out of earthen pots or calabashes²⁸. According to one unsympathetic observer, "ils mangent souvent couché comme les chiens. Enfin ils ne se gênent aucunement dans leurs actions & suivent le pur animal"²⁹.

Nudity was d'Avity's third degree of "brutishness": "Car quelqu'uns n'ayants nul sentiment de honneste ne couvrent pas memes leurs parties honteuses"³⁰. In fact, held d'Avity, it was a sense of shame that distinguished men from animals. His fourth level concerned types of habitation: the most barbarous people lived in caves and trees, although nomads living in tents were not much better. Lack of government was fifth: "Car quelques uns entierement barbares vivent sans aucune loix, & sans aucuns chefs, tant en temps de paix, mais seulement aux occurrences de guerres"³¹. On this point, however, d'Avity conceded that some New World peoples, such as those of "Tlascalla & Chilolla" and New Spain, had what qualified by European standards as government. Peruvians even had a form of civility, although they did not have the arch. But their ingenuity in building bridges had to be admired: "ils en font de très grands sur les rivières fort larges & profondes... on voit... un de ces ponts long de 300 pieds"³². Others were not so prepared as d'Avity to grant that the Peruvian government could be classed as civilized. Acosta, for one, found it to be tyrannical because it treated the people as beasts and the rulers as gods³³. To him that was barbarous, an ameliorated form of savagery.

28. *Ibid.*

29. LOUIS HENNEPIN, *Description de la Louisiane, nouvellement découverte au sud-ouest de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1683, 55. Another missionary reported that Amerindians of the Caribbean thought nothing of defecating while eating; Jean-Baptiste DU TERTRE, *Histoire generale des Isles de S. Christophe...*, Paris, 1654, 429. Thevet, on the other hand, reported of the Brazilians that they ate "fort posément", not like Europeans, who devoured rather than ate at the table; *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique*, éd. Paul Gaffarel, Paris, 1878, 148. Equally inconsistent were the reports of the quantities of food consumed by Amerindians. Charles Lalemant, an unsympathetic observer, found that they thought only of filling their stomachs, *Mercure françois*, 3, 20, while others got the impression they did not eat enough to keep a man alive; THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations...*, 63, 217.

30. D'AVITY, *Estats, Empires*, 316-317.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, 317-318.

33. José de ACOSTA, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Indes...*, trad. par Robert Regnault, Paris, 1598, 287 v^o-288. Acosta discerned three classes of barbarians: those who were not far from reason, had governments and cities (Chinese, Japanese); those who did not have writing but who still had government (Mexicans and Peruvians); those who lived in the woods without fixed abode (Caribs). The latter, Acosta believed, should be constrained to civility. Wilcomb WASHBURN, *Red Man's Land/White Man's Law*, New York, 1971, 22.

Other attempts at defining brutishness included lack of writing³⁴ and the "elusive" or even "defective" structure of languages which impeded the communication of Christian doctrine³⁵. Without the letters "f, l, r", how could Amerindians have "foy, loy et roy"?³⁶ A favorite word for describing their languages was "baragouin", gibberish.

These efforts at definition were based on the assumption that if savagery were a condition, it must have certain characteristics that would make it recognizable as such. From this point of view, d'Avity's list is as interesting for what it leaves out as for what it contains. Contemporaries would have been struck by the fact that the cosmographer did not include lack of order in sexual matters, although this had been widely reported of New World peoples. This indicates independence of judgement on his part, for although it was being realized that these reports were exaggerated, to say the least, this was by no means generally believed.³⁷ Neither did d'Avity include cannibalism as such, but rather as a manifestation of the lack of reason. Cannibals, he wrote, must be considered as enemies of humankind, or else as "fols furieux" who must be first rendered capable of reason and humanity, and then instructed in virtue and the Christian faith³⁸. D'Avity also omitted dirtiness, which came to be used by latter-day writers as one of the characteristics of savagery, Amerindian or otherwise. But during the 16th and 17th centuries, Europeans were struck by the

34. It is now being speculated whether Amerindian pictography, based on sign language, was a precursor of writing. It was once used throughout North and South America, and was apparently universally understood, as it was not associated with sound. See LAVAN MARTINEAU, *The Rocks Begin to Speak*, Las Vegas (Nevada), 1973. Martineau ingeniously argues that pre-Columbian Amerindians thus had a higher literacy rate than contemporary Europeans.

35. THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, 1, 11, 13; 3, 193-197; 20, 71. For a Spanish view on this subject, see the letter of Friar Domingo de Betanzos, written in 1544, which argued that the limitations of Indian languages could easily lead to gross errors in explaining Christian doctrine. It is reproduced by Hanke in *Pope Paul III*, 102. Two centuries later, the same point was being argued. See H. G. LOSKIEL, *History of the Missions of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America*, London, 1794, 20-21.

36. Maffeo [Maffée] in Claude DURET, *Thresor de l'histoire des langues de cest univers*, Cologne, 1613, 945. Cited by Stephen J. GREENBLATT in his paper "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century", *First Images of America*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, Berkeley, 1976, 2 vols., 2, 568. Canadian Indians also had difficulties with the letters f, l, r. See C¹¹ p 10, Publ. Arch. Can., Arch. Col., "Mémoire de Lamothe Cadillac", 1693. Also, Fannie Hardy ECKSTORM, *Old John Neptune and other Maine Indian Shamans*, Portland, 1946.

37. For instance, Frobisher's sailors, acting on the assumption that New World natives mated indiscriminately at first encounter, brought together an Inuit man and woman who had been captured separately, and watched in anticipation. The sailors were disappointed. Richard HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations...*, Glasgow, 1904, 12 vol., 7, 306-307.

38. D'AVITY, *Estats, Empires*, 318.

frequency with which Amerindians bathed. It was told of Moctezuma ("the chief who shoots to heaven when he is angry") that he bathed every day "were it ever so cold" ³⁹. Léry considered it worth reporting that the Tupinamba of Brazil washed their mouths and hands before eating ⁴⁰. European standards were not as high. Erasmus (? 1466-1536) in a tract entitled *De Civilitate morum puerilium* (1530), said that it was necessary to wash hands before sitting down at the dining table ⁴¹. There is no indication, in Erasmus or elsewhere, however, that such refinements were suggested for the masses. Europeans were of the opinion that bathing could be followed by colic, fevers, headaches and vertigo, and that therefore the best course of action was to consult a physician before indulging in what was regarded as a pleasure rather than a health measure. In any event, it should be done only in summer and not in winter ⁴². As European standards of cleanliness developed, so did criticisms of those Amerindians who were found not to wash their hands before meals: "... ils ne se lavent point les mains pour manger, non plus que la viande, ny la chaudière avant que la mettre au feu" ⁴³.

An even more striking omission from d'Avity's list is that of cruelty, particularly as historians of the 19th and 20th centuries have been at great pains to "prove" the savagery of Amerindians because of their war practices. Apart from their cannibalistic aspects, these practices were not considered in the days of d'Avity to be more cruel than those of Europe. Quite the contrary, in fact, as far as torture was

39. Henry HAWKS, in HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations*, 9, 397. Du Tertre noted in the Caribbean that as soon as the Amerindians awakened in the morning, they went down to the river to bathe; *Histoire generale*, 421. Le P. Yves [d'Evreux] made similar observations concerning Brazilians, *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil fait durant les années 1613 et 1614*, éd. par Ferdinand-Jean Denis, Leipzig, Paris, 1864, 106. Toward the end of the 17th century, Henry de Tonty was impressed how successfully Amerindian mothers kept their babies "bien propres, bien nets," without cloths; "Memoire sent in 1693", in *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, ed. by B. F. French, New York, 1846, 25.

40. Jean de LÉRY, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Brésil*, Genève, 1975 (réimpr. de l'éd. de 1580), 118. Córtes for his part was struck by the fact that Mexico's streets were kept clean by squads of cleaners. In 1607 a Paris physician suggested that the plague could be reduced in that city by keeping the streets clean. Nothing came of the suggestion. Warren H. LEWIS, *The Splendid Century*, London, 1953, 202.

41. Norbert ELIAS, *La Civilisation des mœurs*, trad. de l'allemand par Pierre Kamnitzer, Paris, 1973.

42. Lynn THORNDIKE, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, c. 1923-1958, 8 vols., 2, 207-208. However, contrarily enough, medicinal baths were approved. And at least one Renaissance writer wondered if the superior health of Amerindians were not due to their habit of bathing frequently: SAINT-MICHEL, *Voyage des isles Camericanes*, 175.

43. Maurile de SAINT-MICHEL, *Voyages des isles Camericanes...*, Le Mans, 1652, 143; HENNEPIN, *Louisiane*, 53. It has already been noted that Father Lalemant found the Amerindians of New France very dirty in their eating habits.

concerned. 16th century accounts are dominated by reports of Spanish torture of Amerindians, especially during the early part of the century, when decimation of the New World peoples was at its height. The description "très cruel" which Renaissance Europeans so often applied to New World men was a label habitually tagged onto unfamiliar people as well as onto enemies in war, and did not usually refer to specific practices⁴⁴. However, in the case of Amerindians, it often referred specifically to their cannibalism⁴⁵.

Geronimo Cardano (1501-1576), Italian physician and mathematician did not consider cruelty a particular characteristic of savages, as he noted that such people were often very gentle. Observing that they could be more humane than many Greeks and Italians⁴⁶, he went on to say that they were neither immoral nor lacking in intelligence. Their savagery, lay, rather, in a psychological instability: "Before a matter is understood they begin to rage and after they have become excited it is very difficult to quiet them"⁴⁷. This lack of emotional control made them liberty loving and seditious; it also left them vulnerable to being imposed upon.

When he wrote this description, Cardano thought he was depicting men of the New World, among other "savages". In fact, both his description and the definitions we have been considering were strongly influenced by one of the most familiar of the folk figures of this period, the Wild Man of the Woods. In much of the 16th and

44. The casual use of the word "cruel" is illustrated by F. DASSIÉ's comment, "Les Iroquois sont cruels, les Hurons Algonquins sont amis des François"; *Description generale des costes de l'Amerique...*, Paris, 1676, 253. A contemporary English ballad was entitled, "The crueltie of ye Spaniardes toward th[e] Indians"; Edward A. ARBER, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, London, 1875-1894, 5 vols., 2, 2086.

45. For instance, Bodin, in speaking about the cruelty of Brazilians, is referring to cannibalism and not to torture; Jean BODIN, *Les Six livres de la Republique*, Paris, 1577, 528.

46. Later writers sometimes extended this, and reported that Amerindians were more humane than Europeans in general. François Froger, for one, wrote that black slaves often preferred Amerindians to Europeans as masters for that reason. *Relation d'un voyage fait en 1695, 1696 & 1697*, Paris, 1698, 148-149. An 18th century missionary at Kaskaskia observed that "The Savages, especially the Illinois, are of a very gentle and social nature" (cited by Mary Elizabeth Good, in *Guebert Site: an 18th century Kaskaskia Indian Village*, Wood River, Ill., 1972, 47). Such reports have been reinforced by the discovery in 1971 of the Tasaday, a small group of Stone Age people who have been living in isolation in southern Mindanao Island in the Philippines for six centuries. Their outstanding characteristic is a lack of aggressiveness; they have no words for weapons, hostility, anger or war; L. S. STAVRIANOS, "Basic Myths of our Time", *The Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1976, 7. A report of these people by Kenneth MacLEISH, "Stone Age Cavemen of Mindanao", appeared in *National Geographic*, Vol. 142, No. 2 (August 1972), 219-249.

47. THORNDIKE, *History of Magic*, V, 577, citing Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576), *De Rerum Varietate*, Lib. VIII, Ch. 40.

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17th century writing on savagery, the influence of this figure is evident. Found in folklore throughout Europe, but particularly in the northern and central regions, he was known by such names as Wildeman in Flanders and Germany ; Wild Man, wodewose or woodhouse in England, Ireland and Scotland ; and *l'homme sauvage* in France. He was also known as Pilosus, Orcus, Schrat and Ogre ; or perhaps as *homo sylvestris* or *homine agreste*. All of these terms were more or less synonymous with savage, satyr or faun. "Wodewose" derived from the Old English "wode" or "wod", meaning furious or in a state of insanity. Like Odin or Wodin, the great God of the northern nations who presided over war and feasted on the slain, "wode" expressed the rage of battle. It also had implications of unrestrained sensuality and of the demonic. We get a glimpse of forerunners of wodewoses or wild men in Pausanias, who during the 2nd century told of satyrs attacking a woman from a Greek ship and treating her "in such a way as we will not venture to describe" ⁴⁸.

The Wild Man was first pictorialized during the mid-13th century in grotesques decorating manuscript margins ⁴⁹. His period of popularity began during the latter part of the 14th century, reaching its peak during the Renaissance ; after the 17th century he went into a decline. His origins can be traced back to classical antiquity or even to Babylon and Uruk, as well as to the ancient Hebrews. In Roman mythology, he can be traced to the Titan Saturn whose reign was described as a Golden Age of innocence and purity, although Saturn himself was a monster who ate all but three of his own children : Jupiter (air), Neptune (water) and Pluto (earth, underworld). Orcus, also descended from Saturn, carried the dead to the underworld. Saturn has certain similarities with the Greek Cronos, the son of Ouranos (undifferentiated chaos). Although associated with the Golden Age, Saturn symbolized life-devouring hunger and insatiable desire. Incapable of allowing his people to evolve, he was emasculated by his son and returned to the heavens ⁵⁰. The Wild Man's physical resemblance to the satyr Silenus has frequently been noted ⁵¹, and he has

48. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, transl. by Arthur Richard Shilleto, London, 1886, 1, 23, 13. In another case reported the following century, a satyr caused panic among village women : FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, transl. by F. G. Conybeare, London, 1948-50, 2 vols, 6, 27.

49. H. W. JANSON, "A 'Memento Mori' Among Early Italian Prints", *J. Warburg and Courtauld Inst.*, 3, (1939-1941), 248.

50. Jean CHEVALIER, *Dictionnaire des symboles*, Paris, 1969. Also, *Larousse World Mythology*, ed. by Pierre Grimal, London, 1965.

51. Silenus began as a woodland deity who presided over springs and running streams. According to PAUSANIAS, *Description*, 1, 23, the name "Silenus" at one point was applied to all satyrs. In any event, he was shaggy and fullbearded, had horse's ears and was extraordinarily wise. In the 6th century he became

also been identified with Hercules. For the Hebrews, the Wild Man was represented as a spiritual rather than as a physical condition : he was a rebel against the Lord, insane, accursed and destructive ⁵².

These traditions merged, more or less under the influence of Christianity, to produce the Renaissance wodewose or *l'homme sauvage*. He was a minor figure representing the negation of the Christian ideal, a folk version of anti-Christ. In the days of courtly love he was the embodiment of brute sensuality as opposed to the chivalrous love of the knight. He was usually depicted as covered all over with hair, except for knees, elbows and face ; and he had a full beard. His hairiness symbolized the enormous strength on which he depended as he stood alone against all, even his own kind. This strength was also indicated by his habit of carrying a knotty club or an uprooted tree. Unable to speak, he shunned man and was devoid of knowledge of God, which meant that he did not have the use of reason or that he did not possess it ⁵³. Unable to control his passions, he assaulted lone women in the woods ⁵⁴. However, he was intimately acquainted with nature's secrets, which he sometimes shared with peasants ; at times he would tend their cattle or would heal a wounded knight with herbs. But his closest associates were bears and devils ⁵⁵.

In Edmund Spenser's vivid imagery, this figure is outsized, "all overgrowne with haire... with huge great teeth". He "fed on fleshly gore, the signe whereof yet stain'd his bloudy lips afore". This unprepossessing figure lived on the "spoile of women", whom he raped and then ate. He had already caught and eaten seven by the time he appeared in *The Faerie Queene* ⁵⁶. A gentler version of the Wild Man in the same work is Satyrane, whose father was a satyr ; he rescued ladies instead of preying on them. In the English folk imagination of the day, the hairy man was considered to be green, hair and all. But whether he was shown as fierce or gentle, physical portrayals of

associated with Dionysus. Socrates was compared to Silenus in wisdom, irony and appearance.

52. Hayden WHITE, "The Forms of Wildness", in Edward DUDLEY and Maximilian NOVAK, *The Wild Man Within*, Pittsburgh, 1942.

53. Richard BERNHEIMER, *Wild Men, in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1952, 1-33.

54. However, an extremely ancient version of the Wild Man, Enkidu, was the embodiment of natural innocence. Seduced by a harlot, and consequently rejected by his former companions the wild animals, he had no recourse except to go to the city and become civilized. N. K. SANDERS, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, London, 1964, 60-67. Among French names for *l'homme sauvage* or similar beings are found *Ankou* and *Annequin*, the latter approaching Hellekin or Harlequin. A. VAN GENNEP, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain*, Paris, 1937, 4, 622.

55. Merlin, the master of nature, was descended from an incubus in the guise of a Wild Man. See Russell Hope ROBBINS, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, New York, 1966, 462.

56. Edmund SPENSER, *The Faerie Queene*, Oxford, 1953, 4, 7.

him were remarkably uniform in poetry, painting, manuscript illustration, tapestries and sculpture.

Although the first record of a theatrical play featuring a wild man dates back to 1208 in Padua ⁵⁷, it was in pageants and spectacles where he was most in evidence, particularly those of Carnival and Twelfth Night. Here his disguise was regarded as a licence for rampaging violence ⁵⁸. At one point he even took part in tournaments, challenging knights. One of the best-known incidents involving a wild man masquerade occurred on the 28th of January in 1392 at an event that later became known as the " Bal des Ardents " at the court of Charles VI " le fou " of France, when several revellers dressed as Wild Men burned to death ⁵⁹. Sometimes the carnival Wild Man, girdled and crowned with feathers, pretended to feed only on raw meat, which was handed to him on the end of a stick ⁶⁰. In Quercy the first Sunday of Lent was formerly called " lon dimenge dei Salvagi " which the youth celebrated " en contrefaisant les Satyrs " ⁶¹. In the pageant celebrating the entry of Charles V into Bruges, Wild Men were shown as the city's earliest inhabitants ⁶². At other times they prefigured Amerindians, as in the entry of the " Damoiseulx de Valenciennes " into Lille in 1438, when masqueraders were dressed as Wild Men, some of them in animal skins, others in feathers : " beaucoup d'hommes sauvages étaient aussi couverts de plumes " ⁶³. Father Paul Le Jeune, seeing his first Amerindians with painted faces at Tadoussac in 1632, remarked, " je voyais ces masques qui courent en France à Carême " ⁶⁴.

Le Jeune could not have foreseen that the tradition of carnival masquerades would cross the Atlantic with the settlers. Denonville, governor-general of New France in 1685-1689, noted that such practices had reached the point where his predecessor, Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre, had to suppress them. However, he had not entirely succeeded :

57. BERNHEIMER, *Wild Men...*, 51.

58. *Ibid.*, 58.

59. *Ibid.* Also, Richard BARBER and Anne RICHES, *A Dictionary of Fabulous Beasts*, London, 1971, 154.

60. VAN GENNEP, *Folklore*, 1, 924.

61. *Ibid.*, 923. This could well have been a survival of the Bacchanales of classical times ; ecclesiastical authorities banned the practice on several occasions during the 17th century.

62. BERNHEIMER, *Wild Men*, 120 ; J. R. HALE, *Renaissance Europe : Individual and Society, 1480-1520*, New York, 1971, 174.

63. VAN GENNEP, *Folklore*, I, 923. See also Antonello GERBI, *Dispute of the New World*, transl. and ed. by Jeremy Moyle, Pittsburg, 1973, 70.

64. *Le Dix-huictième tome du Mercure françois*, Paris, 1633, 59.

On a traité de gentillesse et de plaisanterie une façon de se mettre en habits de sauvages tous nuds, non seulement aux jours de regal et de debauché. Toutes ces manières ne tendent qu'à entretenir les jeunes gens dans l'esprit de vivre en sauvages, et de communiquer avec eux, et d'estre eternellement libertins comme eux. ⁶⁵

From pageantry the Wild Man retired into heraldry, where he is still seen today as a supporting figure at times difficult to distinguish from Silenus. More than 200 European families have the Wild Man as emblem ⁶⁶, and he is on the coat of arms of Charles V on a building in Tlaxcala ⁶⁷. In a pose similar to his heraldic stance he also occasionally appeared on the title pages of books ⁶⁸. There was also a Wild Woman, but she never attained the importance of the Wild Man. This may have been partially because the Church tolerated the latter, albeit reluctantly, whereas the rituals of the Wild Woman called for offerings, which the Church would not countenance. In Spain, for, example, dancing in the disguise of Orca could draw a year's penitence ⁶⁹.

Most Europeans who sailed to the New World must have been aware of the Wild Man, who was as familiar a figure to them as Santa Claus is today; indeed, in their facial representation, they were not unlike, both being bearded and having gentle expressions. From the very first, Europeans compared Amerindians with Wild Men. Columbus referred to West Indians as "wild" but suitable for slavery; an observer, describing the New World men brought to Lisbon by Corte-Real in 1501 (who have been variously identified as Inuit, Naskapi, Beothuk or Micmac), said they had most gentle countenances but most bestial habits and manners, "like wild men" ⁷⁰. The seven Amerindians brought to Rouen in 1509 were described as *homines sylvestres* ⁷¹. Shakespeare's Caliban, so often cited as a representation of the Ame-

65. Publ. Arch. Can., Arch. Col. C11A7, 45-47, Denonville to the minister, 13 Nov. 1685.

66. BERNHEIMER, *Wild Men*, 177. For a discussion of Amerindians as heraldic figures, see Conrad M. J. F. SWAN, "American Indians in Heraldry", in *Coat of Arms*, XII, 87, 96-107; and 88, 148-159. Two of Canada's provinces, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, have Amerindians as supporting figures in their coats of arms.

67. Elizabeth Wilder WEISMANN, *Mexico in Sculpture 1521-1821*, Cambridge. 1950; reprint, Westport, Conn., 1971, 27, fig. 19.

68. For example, the colonization tract of Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar. *Encouragements for such as shall have intention to bee Under-takers in the new plantation of Cape Briton, now New Galloway in America*, Edinburgh, 1625. It was reproduced by Ernst and Johanna LEHNER, *How They Saw the New World*, New York, 1966, 151.

69. BERNHEIMER, *Wild Men*, 43.

70. Henry Percival BIGGAR, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier 1497-1534*, Ottawa, 1911, 66, letter of Pietro Pasqualigo, 18 Oct. 1501.

71. EUSEBIUS, *Caesariensis Episcopi Chronicon*, Paris, 1512, entry for 1509,

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rindian ⁷², was in fact a depiction of the Wild Man in which the demonic aspects prevailed. This fusion of concepts can be seen in a map illustration in a Ptolemy geography of 1522, in which Terra Nova is decorated with a cannibal scene ⁷³. As we have already noted, cannibals were stock items in pre-Columbian geographies, and were usually located in the Orient. The Ptolemy cannibals have feather skirts, similar to those of the 1505 Augsburg woodcut. The figures are smooth-skinned, but have the heads and "gentle countenances" of Wild Men. Thus Ptolemy's scene could reflect simply the belief that the new-found-land was part of Asia; far more likely, however, it indicated that the people of the New World were believed to be like Wild Men.

The frequent reports throughout this period of hairy men in far-off places indicates that the Wild Man was thought actually to exist. Pliny, for example, had told of such creatures in India ⁷⁴. The Borgia Map, drawn in the 15th century before Columbus's voyage, is illustrated with hairy Amazons ⁷⁵. Occasionally hairy men appear in Renaissance voyage accounts, such as those of Pigafetta ⁷⁶. A century and a half later, the newspaper *Le Mercure galant* reported on "les Sauvages de l'Amérique, Hommes cruels et sans raison, à qui nos Pescheurs sont obligez de faire la chasse comme à des Bestes, puis qu'ils ont outre leur férocité le corps hérissé de poil, armé d'ongles merveilleusement longs & crochus" ⁷⁷.

That the Wild Man had by this time become confused in the popular mind with Amerindians is evident not only from such obviously misinformed reports, but from the repeated efforts missionaries and colo-

72. Leslie A. FIEDLER, *The Return of the Vanishing American*, New York, 1968, 45-49. Fiedler says *The Tempest* represented Europe's judgement and rejection of the Amerindian. In this he was following the line of thought of Dominique O. Mannoni, who presented Prospero and Caliban as prototypes of colonizer and colonized in *Psychologie de la colonisation*, Paris, 1950. Aimé Césaire developed this idea for the theatre in *Une tempête : d'après la Tempête de Shakespeare, adaptation pour un théâtre nègre*, Paris, 1969. Other authorities feel that Caliban represents the fickle mob of any society. This view was presented by Paul A. JORGENSEN in his paper, "Shakespeare's Brave New World", *First Images of America*, 1, 85.

73. Claudius PTOLEMAEUS, *Opus geographiae noviter castigatum et emaculatum, additionibus raris et invisibilibus, necnon cum tabularum in dorso jucunda explanatione...*, Hec bona mente Laurentius Phrisius..., Argentorati, 1522.

74. Caius PLINIUS SECUNDUS (A.D. 23/24-79), *Historia naturalis*, 7, 2, 24.

75. A. E. NORDENSKIÖLD, *Periplus, An Essay on the Early History of Charts & Sailing Directions*, Stockholm, 1897, pl. 39.

76. *Voyage et navigation faict par les Espagnolz es Isles des Mollucques*, Paris, 1522, Section 11, 54. Another contemporary reference is found in *Faictz et dictz de feu de bonne mémoire maistre Jehan Molinet*, Paris, 1531, CVII.

77. *Le Mercure galant*, April 1681, 143. This could have been a reference to the Beothuks or the Labrador Inuit, who were in a state of constant hostility with European fishermen.

nial officials made to discredit the notion that New World men were hairy ⁷⁸. Their efforts were unavailing. The first published denial appears to be that of André Thevet in *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique*, which first appeared in 1557. In the chapter entitled "Contre l'opinion de ceux qui estiment les Sauvages estre pelus", Thevet asserted that those who insisted that Amerindians were hairy had obviously never seen them, for the truth was the opposite; they took great care to remove all body hair ⁷⁹. Later he theorized that the custom of the northern Amerindians of wearing furs had given rise to the belief ⁸⁰. Léry felt strongly enough about the matter to deny it repeatedly. "Je réserve aussi à refuter ci-après l'erreur de ceux qui nous ont voulu faire accroire que les sauvages étaient velus", he first wrote. Later, he was even more specific: "Et cependant tant s'en faut, comme aucuns pensent, et d'autres le veulent faire accroire, qu'ils soient velus ni couverts de leurs poils, qu'au contraire n'étant point naturellement plus pelus que nous" ⁸¹. He speculated that the belief had arisen from the custom of the Brazilian Tupinamba of glueing themselves all over with down or little feathers, which gave them a furred appearance:

tellement qu'en cet état ils semblent avoir du poil folet, comme les pigeons et autres oiseaux nouvellement éclos. Et vraisemblablement que quelque-uns de ces pays par-deça, les ayant vus du commencement qu'ils arrivèrent en leur terre accoutrés de cette façon, s'en étant revenus sans avoir plus grande connaissance d'eux, divulgèrent et firent courir le bruit que ces sauvages étaient velus; mais, comme j'ai dit ci-dessus ils ne sont pas tels de leur naturel, et partant, ç'a été une ignorance et chose trop légèrement reçue. ⁸²

78. The confusion exists even today. When I encountered the hairy man while researching in Paris, my first reaction was to regard this figure as being somehow derived from early reports of Amerindians. A recent edition of the mémoire of Nicolas Perrot, that of Editions Elysée, Montreal, 1973, has figures of the Wild Man and Wild Woman on its endpapers; obviously the editors were under the same impression.

79. THEVET, *Singularitez*, Chap. 31. Amerindians practiced depilation by using fingernails as well as certain shells. Metal pincers very quickly became an item Europeans offered in trade. Later, Thevet, in his *Cosmographie*, Paris, L'Huillier, 1575, 1001 v^o, again stressed that Amerindians "ne portans aucun poil sur eux que celui de la teste".

80. THEVET, *Singularitez*, 413.

81. LÉRY, *Histoire d'un voyage*, 60, 97.

82. *Ibid.*, 100. Theodore de Bry, who in 1592 published Léry's account in his series *Grands voyages*, included among the illustrations a cannibal scene in which one of the Brazilians is covered all over with down as the author described. The idea of covering ones' self with feathers or down was quickly picked up in Europe and such masquerades were seen in pageants and carnivals until the 19th century; VAN GENNEP, *Folklore*, I, 923. Claude HATON (1534-1605), noted in his memoirs concerning Brazilians: "ilz ne sont velus ne pelus de grand poil comme sont une aultre manière de saulvages, qui sont couvers de grand poil commes les

This was a line of reasoning that lawyer Marc Lescarbot (c. 1570-1642) was to repeat in his history of New France ⁸³.

The missionary Gabriel Sagard (fl. 1614-1636), who visited Huronia in 1623-1624, noted that " our savages are not as hairy as some might think ". Referring to a well-known incident when the Admiral Hanno had brought what were believed to be two hairy women's skins from Gorgades Islands and had placed them in the Temple of Juno, Sagard continued, " hence the belief that all savages are hairy, although this is not so, and one very seldom finds that they are " ⁸⁴. " Les peintres ont grand tort de les peindre velus ", wrote Jean de Laon, sieur d'Aigremont, who had taken part in the colonizing attempt in Guiana in 1652 ⁸⁵. " There is no occasion to think of them as half beasts, shaggy, black and hideous ", complained Father Franciso Gioseppe Bressani (1612-1672) in the Jesuit Relations of 1653. " They are without a beard... [and are] more healthy than we " ⁸⁶. A generation later the same point was still being made : " Les Hurons ne sont ny velus ny monstrueux comme le caprice des Peintres les represente, et excepté la longue chevelure & et leur teint olivâtre, la plupart sont aussi bien fait que les Peuples de l'Europe " ⁸⁷. Lahontan tersely corroborated this : " Ceux qui ont dépeint les Sauvages velus comme des Ours, n'en avoient jamais vû " ; but added to the confusion by referring to Amerindians on another occasion as " satires et Faunes réels, vrais Habitans des bois " who were " naturalisés à sauter de rocher en rocher, à percer les ronces & les broussailles à courir à travers les épines & les buissons comme en rase Campagne " ⁸⁸. Such descriptions only confirmed the 18th century European in his impression that Amerin-

bestes, mais sont barbares, mangeant l'ung l'autres, principalement leurs enemys ', *Mémoires de Claude Haton contenant le récit des événements accomplis de 1553 à 1582, principalement dans la Champagne et la Brie*, Paris, 1857, 2 vols., 1, 39.

83. LESCARBOT, *Nova Francia : or the Description of that part of New France, which is one continent with Virginia*, transl. by Pierre Erondelle, London, 1609, 200.

84. *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons by Father Gabriel Sagard*, ed. by George Wrong, Toronto, 1939, 138. The incident occurred in 530 B.C. ; HERRMANN, *Conquest by Man*, 79-80. Father Le Clercq also referred to it : *New Relation of Gaspesia*, ed. by William F. Ganong, Toronto, 1910, 82.

85. JEAN DE LAON, sieur d'Aigremont, *Relation du voyage des François fait au Cap de Nord en Amérique... avec une ample description du Pays, des mœurs et façons de vivre des Sauvages...*, Paris, 1654, 90.

86. THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, 38, 257.

87. ALLAIN MANESSON-MALLET, *Description de l'univers contenant les systèmes du monde...*, Paris, 1683, 5 vols., 5, 280.

88. LOUIS ARMAND DE LOM D'ARCE DE LAHONTAN, *Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale*, Amsterdam, 1705, 2 vols., 2, 95 and 1, 47. Lahontan's comment dismissing the European belief that Amerindians looked like bears was repeated word for word by BRUZEN DE LA MARTINIÈRE in *Le Grand dictionnaire géographique*, 2, 88, in the article " Canada ".

dians were hairy, as that was how satyrs and fauns were depicted.

Missionaries were the most assiduous in their efforts to disabuse the European public of its image of hairy Amerindians. Father Chrestien Le Clercq (1641-after 1700) was particularly stern :

There is one error which is only too common, and of which it is desirable to disabuse the public. It is necessary to admit that some persons in our Europe are persuaded too easily that the peoples of North America... preserve of the nature of man nothing but the name of wild man, and that they have none of those finer qualities of body and of spirit which distinguish the human species from the beasts of the fields. And they even believe these people to be all hairy, like the bears, and more inhuman than the tigers and the leopards... as a matter of fact our Gaspesians have less hair than the French.⁸⁹

According to Father Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre (1610-1687), "à ce seul mot de Sauvage la plupart du monde se figure dans leurs esprits une sorte d'hommes Barbares, cruels, inhumains, sans raison, contrefaits, grands comme des geants, velus comme des ours... quoy qu'en verité nos Sauvages ne soient Sauvages que de nom... Au reste, ils ne sont ny velus ny contrefaits"⁹⁰.

Two centuries after Thevet had denied that Amerindians were furred, an officer in the French and Indian War wrote : "Les sauvages du Canada sont fort different de l'idée que l'on s'en fait communément en France. Loin d'être velus, comme on le croit, ils sont beaucoup moins couverts de poil que nous"⁹¹. As long as the Wild Man existed in folk imagination, he influenced the European conception of the Amerindian.

During these two centuries, *l'homme sauvage* continued his solitary way, "noir et velu com ours enchainé". Besides his descent from the mythologies of classical Greece, Rome and the Middle East, and his connection with bears, the Wild Man contained elements from early reports of anthropoid apes, which were usually described in the Renaissance as speechless human beings, *homines sylvestres*. According to Pliny, "the Choromandae are a savage and wild people ; distinct

89. LE CLERCQ, *New Relation*, 92. CHARLEVOIX in his turn observed : "l'idée qu'on se formoit autrefois en Europe des Sauvages, qu'on y représentoit comme des Hommes tout velus, non-seulement ne leur convient en aucun manière, mais est précisément celle qu'ils ont d'abord eue de nous, parce qu'ils crurent que nous avions tout le corps, comme le menton & l'estomach" ; *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1744, 6 vol., 6, 17.

90. DU TERTRE, *Histoire générale*, 296, 298.

91. Jean-Baptiste d'ALEYRAC, *Aventures militaires au XVIII^e siècle d'après les mémoires de Jean-Baptiste d'Alejrac (1737-1796)*, ed. by Charles Coste, Paris, 1925, 36. My thanks to M^{me} Marie Gérin-Lajoie for pointing out this reference to me. Other denials were also made during this period.

voice and speech have they none, but in steed there of, they keepe an horrible gnashing and hideous noise : rough they are and hairie all over their bodies, eies they have red like the houlets and toothed they be like dogs " 92.

There is now no doubt that Pliny was actually describing a troupe of large monkeys or gibbons. The Medieval and Renaissance tendency was to transform these animals into quasi-human beings by exaggerating their human aspects. The Spanish, for instance, were reported to regard baboons as a race of people who refused to speak so that they would not be forced to live in subjection⁹³. Similarly, the great apes and orang-outangs were said to be descended from people who had grown weary of work and the restraints of village life, and so had retreated to the forests and an animal-like existence. They were supposed to have been the products of miscegenation between women and animals⁹⁴. Albertus Magnus saw apes as being intermediate between man and beast, *similitudines hominis*, an early version of the missing link⁹⁵. Prester John's list of wild creatures, dated 1164, included *homines agrestes*⁹⁶, which Cardano said resembled Wild Men⁹⁷. As late as the mid-18th century, an Englishman published an illustration of a "man in the wood", complete with his gnarled stick, and labelled him "The Satier, Savage, Wild-Man, Pigmy, Orang-outang, Chimpanzee, etc." 98

From such hesitations and confusions, it had not been a long step to the idea of dual creation, of the Devil acting in competition with God but being capable only of producing a distorted version of the original being that had been divinely created. This concept was firmly

92. *The Historie of the world. Commonly called The Natural historie of C. Plinius Secundus*, translated into English by Philemon Holland, London, 1601, 156.

93. Horst Waldemar JANSON, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, London, 1952, 337.

94. Robert M. and Ada W. YERKES, *The Great Apes*, New Haven, 1929, 12; JANSON, *Ape Lore*, 351, n. 47. In Greek mythology, the trickster figures known as *Cercophithèques* were bandits whom Zeus, in a moment of irritation, had transformed into monkeys. According to Chevalier, Trickster corresponds to the most primitive level of human life, having the mind of an infant and no control over his appetites. He is cruel, cynical and insensitive, but capable of becoming human. Such figures are found in Algonkian myths, for instance, Nanabozho of the Ojibway. See CHEVALIER, *Dictionnaire des symboles*. Mayan myths also characterize monkeys as men who were not satisfactory as human beings. See *Popol Vuh*, transl. by Ralph Nelson, Boston, 1976.

95. JANSON, *Ape Lore*, 83, citing Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus*.

96. BERNHEIMER, *Wild Man*, 92.

97. JANSON, *Ape Lore*, 270, citing Cardano, *De Subtilitate*, Basle, 1547, Lib. 10.

98. YERKES, *Great Apes*, 18, citing George EDWARDS, *Gleanings of natural history...*, London, 1758-64, 3 vols. Edward Tyson in 1699 published an essay in which he held that satyrs were monkeys or baboons, but not men: "A Philological Essay Concerning the Satyrs of the Ancients", in *Orang-Outang, Sive Homo Sylvestris...*, London, 1699.

established in Christian folklore : horse and ass, lion and cat, sun and moon, day and night ⁹⁹. An ape, as imperfect man, symbolized carnal desire ; the apple-eating ape was seen in very much the same perspective as the sexually unrestrained Wild Man. In another aspect also the ape was seen as imperfect man : he was believed to remember injuries and to harbor hatreds for a long time ¹⁰⁰. If that were so, then men who were of a vengeful disposition or who nursed the desire for revenge were acting in the manner of apes rather than as fully-fledged human beings. In describing Amerindians (with more or less truth) as people who never forgot an injury, who were so vengeful that they even ate the lice which tormented them, and who had no order in their sexual relations, Renaissance writers were putting them into a context popularly associated with apes and Wild Men.

This position of *l'homme sauvage* between man and animal meant that he could act in concert with beasts as an intermediary between human beings and the underworld. In Renaissance Flanders he was included with the wild animals who guarded the fountain of life in the forest : " un géant à figure et à membres chevelus, armé d'un sapin déraciné... ses sourcils s'unissent au dessus du nez. Il refuse ou accorde l'entrée du ciel " ¹⁰¹. Near the forest was the *Nobiskrug* where passports to the other world were obtained ; its insignia was a hairy giant. It was in this capacity as intermediary that the Wild Man was known as Orcus ¹⁰². In Rouen during the 16th century, this figure was frequently placed above doors of houses, and appeared as a fireplace guardian ¹⁰³ against the underworld. He is found on the North portal of Rouen Cathedral, and guards the principal entrance to San Gregorio in Valladolid in Spain, as well as that of Casa de Montejo in Yucatan, built in 1549. In his demonic aspect he appears on tombs, particularly in northern and central Europe, where he is usually being trampled underfoot by the commemorated figure.

In Renaissance France the dark side of *l'homme sauvage* prevailed, and he became identified with the older Germanic comic devil, Hellekin, leader of the Wild Horde. Hellekin was particularly strongly entrenched in the north ; his marriage to the mythical Luque La Maudite in Rouen during the 13th century is said to have resulted in a spree

99. JANSON, *Ape Lore*, 86.

100. *Ibid.*, 80, citing THOMAS CANTIMPRENSIS, *Liber de natura rerum*, 1240.

101. William Frederic GREENEY, *A Book of Fac-similes of Monumental Brasses of the Continent of Europe, with brief descriptive notes*, Norwich, 1884, 21.

102. To this days, the sign " In dem Wildeman " is a favorite for inns and taverns in Belgium and The Netherlands.

103. Such a figure, cast in iron, is to be seen in the Musée Le Secq de Tournelles in Rouen.

that caused considerable damage to the city ¹⁰⁴. When animal skins and feathers were not available for the costuming of Hellekin in pageants, rags were substituted, which eventually became stylized into the diamond design which is associated with his theatrical descendant, Harlequin ¹⁰⁵. In this connection it is interesting to note that one of the theatrical successes of 18th century Paris was *Arlequin Sauvage*, first presented at Théâtre des Italiens, 17 June 1721. This play, by Louis-François de Lisle de La Drévetière (1682-1756), concerns Arlequin, an Amerindian brought to Europe, who proceeded to run afoul of the law, both written (in an encounter with a merchant, when he mistakes proffered goods as a gift) and unwritten (his amatory adventures with Violette). Arlequin's simple truthfulness eventually prevails over social considerations and he wins Violette. This tale of the triumph of "*le bon sauvage*" reflects the later transmutation of the Wild Man into a "paragon of virtue lost in unfolding civilization" ¹⁰⁶. This purging of *l'homme sauvage* of his bestial and demonic aspects resulted in his idealization into "*le bon sauvage*", a fate which he shared with the Amerindian during the 18th century. This was the folkloric counterpart of the evangelization of the New World peoples, "*auparavant sauvages & maintenant sacrez*" ¹⁰⁷.

The idea of "*le bon sauvage*" is, of course, as ancient as that of the Wild Man, as it is another aspect of the same general concept. According to Boas and Lovejoy, "From the 4th century B.C., the Scythians were to the ancients what the American Indians were to

104. BERNHEIMER, *Wild Man*, 65. Hellekin or Harlequin was also associated with *la chasse sauvage*, or, as it was known in Saintonge, *la chasse-galerie*. A bibliography of this mythical activity of the "wild horde" is found in VAN GENNEP, *Folklore*, 1, 632-641.

105. *Ibid.*, 84. For an illustration indicating how this might have come about, see the Breughel painting reproduced in Bernheimer, Fig. 16. According to Chevalier, Arlequin (Harlequin) symbolized a malicious buffoon of unstable personality, a being who was not yet individualized. He was a stock character of *la commedia dell'arte*.

106. BERNHEIMER, *Wild Man*, 102. Bernheimer theorizes that this development indicated the uneasiness of Europeans with their own civilization, particularly its organized violence. Another type of mythic transformation can be discerned in *The Faerie Queene*. Among its woodland episodes, Hellenore deserted her husband to go and live with bag-pipe playing satyrs (Book 2, Canto 10); Amoret was snatched by a Wild Man (Book 4, Canto 7); and finally, Serena was captured by Salvages who "did live of stealth and spoile", depriving poor men of the fruits of their labor. These Salvages were prepared to make a cannibalistic sacrifice of Serena when she was rescued by Sir Calepine (Book 6: Canto 8). In this presentation of evolutionary development, the half animal Satyrs were dominated by their sensuality and given to dancing and festivities; the Wild Man combined sensuality and cannibalism; and the Salvages, although tempted by the charms of Serena, were convinced by their priest to make a sacrifice of her instead. And so bestial sensuality was transformed into a blood sacrifice to the Gods.

107. Charles CHAULMER, *Le Nouveau Monde ou l'Amérique chrétienne...*, Paris, 1659, 8.

the primitivists of the 16th to the 18th centuries in modern Europe " 108. While several different peoples were cast in this role at various times, the Scythians were the favorite. Christian Europe, remoulding the ideal of the Golden Age into the vision of the Garden of Eden, developed two traditions concerning the Scythians. One presented them as admirable, the other as detestable ¹⁰⁹, but in either case they were regarded as savage. With the emergence of Amerindians within the European range of vision, it was a comparatively simple matter to fit them into existing perspectives, particularly as there seemed to be resemblances between the two "savage" peoples, from the Old World and the New. The speed with which this was done is evident in the writings of Martire : " Les nostre estiment estre gens vages comme Scythiens, vivans des fruicts de la terre sans certaine habitations " ¹¹⁰. The Jesuits of New France were to report in their turn that the Iroquois waged war in the manner of the Scythians and Parthians ¹¹¹.

The inaccuracy of the view that Amerindians lived " comme bêtes irraisonnables, ainsi que nature les a produits " ¹¹², was soon recognized by those associated with them. As P. Claude observed :

A la verité, je pensois toujours trouver des bestes feroces, des hommes totalement agrestes, rudes & Sauvages (comme nous les appelons) mais je me trouvoy bien esloigné de mon compte. Car pour ce qui est de la perfection de sens

108. *Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas*, ed. by George Boas and Arthur O. Lovejoy, Baltimore, 1935, 289. Tacitus's description of Germans as noble savages in *Germania* (1st century A.D.), which follows a similar description by Caesar in *De Bello Gallico* (51 B.C.), is a well-known expression of this concept. However, during the 16th and 17th centuries, it was the Scythians and the Tartars with whom the Amerindians were most frequently compared, not the Germans.

109. Georges BOAS, *Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages*, Baltimore, 1948, 137.

110. Pietre Martire ANGHIERA, *Extraict ou Recueil des isles nouvellement trouvées en la grand mer oceane...*, Paris, 1532, 46 v°. Cotton Mather had his own version of the resemblance between Scythians and Amerindians when he wrote that the difficulties of Xerxes and Tamburlaine in finding the Scythians in order to conquer them was paralleled by the experiences of the English against the Amerindians; *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Hartford, 1820, 2 vols, 1, 166-167. Later he described Amerindians as " worse than Scythian wolves " ; *ibid.*, 1, 193.

111. THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, 22, 35. A latter-day echo of this can be discerned in the detection of Scytho-Siberian influences in some motifs found in Inuit designs. Dean SNOW, *The American Indians : their Archaeology and Pre-history*, London, 1976, 228-229.

112. THEVET, *Singularitez*, 135. Michel de Montaigne is the best-known of those who recognized that Amerindians had laws, in his essays " Des Coches " and " Des Cannibales ". Later, Jeremy Bentham wrote, " If we suppose the least agreement among savages to respect the acquisitions of each other, we see the introduction of a principle to which no name can be given than that of law ". Cited by A. I. HALLOWELL, *Culture and Experience*, Philadelphia, 1955, 245.

THE CONCEPT OF "L'HOMME SAUVAGE"

naturels, soit extérieurs soit intérieurs, je ne recontray jamais personne & n'ay ouy parler d'aucune nation qui les excellast. ¹¹³

Du Tertre and others agreed that Amerindians were savage in name only, and in the *Jesuit Relations* we find several assertions that the procedures of Amerindians were not those of brute beasts ¹¹⁴. But instead of convincing Europeans that Amerindians were not savage, such statements were regarded as a defence of "le bon sauvage". The Jesuits, for instance, were sometimes accused of being more interested in proving that "savages" were really civilized than they were in evangelizing them. Europeans, by transforming the Amerindian into an idealized and thus essentially unreal image, not only deprived him of his position as a fellow human being with a viable civilization of his own, but also made it impossible for him to acquire such minor honors as being a credible hero in a first-rate drama ¹¹⁵. At the same time, they quickly found a use for "le bon sauvage". He was moulded into an instrument for criticizing European society, as well as used as a basic ingredient for various Utopias, the creation of which became a literary tradition ¹¹⁶.

The classification of New World men as savage was reinforced by the speed with which even the most sophisticated American cultures were destroyed. The argument was that the Aztec and Inca empires could not have been very civilized, or they would not have fallen so quickly :

Comme penserez vous qu'il ayt esté possible selon la teneur de cet histoire à une centaine de gens dessite ou peu d'avantage conquerir un si grand pays

113. Le P. CLAUDE D'ABBEVILLE, *Histoire de la mission des Pères capucins en l'isle de Maragnan...*, Paris, 1614, 311 et v^o.

114. DU TERTRE, *Histoire generale*, 396 ; THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, 21, 55 ; 50, 171. Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette, the first white men to encounter many of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley, found these people, on the whole, to be civil, liberal and humane : *Voyages et découvertes de quelques pays et nations de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1845, 20. This was echoed more than a century later by P. Louis Vivier among the Illinois : "Let us consider the Savages in particular. Nothing but erroneous ideas are conceived of them in Europe ; they are hardly believed to be men. This is a gross error... They have wit... as much, at least, as most Frenchmen... I found in them many qualities that are lacking in civilized peoples". Cited by GOOD, *Guebert Site*, 47-48.

115. Benjamin BISSELL, *America Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven, 1925, Introduction.

116. For one of the earliest examples of the use of the Amerindian "bon sauvage" as an instrument for criticizing European society, see ANGHIERA, *Extrait ou recueil*, 68 v^o-69. Among the French writers who were inspired by Amerindians to create literary ideal societies were Abbé François FÉNELON, *Les Aventures de Télémaque...* ; Denis VAIRASSE D'ALAIS, *Histoire des Sévarambes...*, Paris, 1677-1679 ; and Gabriel de FOIGNY, *La Terre australe*, Vannes, 1676.

en si peu de temps ? Et sans aucune comparaison de nombre ne de force desconfire une armée innumerable de Barbares en plein champs de bataille ? ¹¹⁷

One of the ironies of the situation was that the Incas and Aztecs both shared with Europeans the belief that their forebears had once lived as beasts ¹¹⁸, and the Incas looked down upon the people of the Amazon as being savages. But that did not imply that any Amerindian was prepared to consider himself as savage at the time of Europe's invasion of the Americas. According to a 17th century document, some were reported to have retorted that as far as they were concerned, it was the French who were the savages, "parce que nous [that is, the French] ne vivons pas à leur mode ; qu'ils ont leur science & nous la nostre, comme si il y avoit deux façons de sçavoir les choses dans la vérité " ¹¹⁹. But the argument that counted in the end was that of force ; might was equated with civilization. There might be sympathy for the defeated, but they had still been proven to be of an inferior order.

Another irony of Europe's confusion of the Wild Man with the Amerindian was the latter's horror of hairiness. Both Columbus and Vespucci were struck by this, as was anyone who had anything to do with Amerindians during the 16th and 17th centuries ¹²⁰. To cite Vespucci, "they do not allow any hair to grow on their eyebrows nor their eyelids nor anywhere on the body (with the exception of the head), for this reason — because they deem it coarse and animal-like " ¹²¹. Jesuits in the Canadian missions observed that their charges were repelled by the hairiness of Europeans, and sometimes openly mocked them on the subject. But the crowning irony was that the Amerindians had a mythological hairy man of their own, who was also a forest figure. This personnage, who was sometimes female, preyed on young children rather than on women, and lived in the forests of the east as well as those of the west. Among its better-known contemporary manifestations is the Sasquatch of the Northwest Coast, who is as familiar to Canadians as Bigfoot is to Americans of the Pacific Coast ¹²².

117. *L'Histoire de la Terre-Neuve du Pérou*, préface.

118. GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, London, 1869, 2 vols., 1, 47 ; José de ACOSTA, *The Naturall and Moral Historie of the East and West Indies*, translated into English by E. G., London, 1604, 497.

119. Sieur de LA BORDE, "Relation de l'origine, mœurs, coustumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Caraïbes, sauvages des isles Antilles de l'Amerique", 15, in Henri JUSTEL, *Recueil de diverses voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique...*, Paris, 1674.

120. See Thevet's comment, *supra*, n. 79.

121. WALDSEEMULLER, *Cosmographiae*, 92-93.

122. Dr. Louise M. Jilek-Aall did a comparative study of European and Amerindian attitudes toward the Sasquatch in "What is a Sasquatch, or the Problematics

So the processes of identifying Amerindians with savagery operated on the level of ideology as well as on that of popular mythology. To Europeans, reports that Amerindians lived "mangeans racines, demeurent tousiours nuds tant hommes que femmes" ¹²³, implied not that they were living without rules at all, although that was how it was usually stated, but according to the rules of the non-human world around them. It is known today, of course, that this image does not equate with the facts : no human society has ever been found that conforms to the conditions of animal life ¹²⁴. For instance, every human society ever studied has been found to have rules against incest ; notions of what constitutes incest vary from culture to culture, but the idea of degrees of relationship within which marriage is prohibited is universal ¹²⁵. The Stone-Age men of America and Australia, of Melanesia and Polynesia, may have lived in close co-operation with the world of nature around them, but this in no way implies an identification between nature's rules and those of human society. Indeed, it has now been recognized that the spiritual aspect of aboriginal Australian life was more fully developed than it is in modern industrialized societies.

We do not know the line of demarcation between nature and human cultures, and when, if ever, one passes over into the other ¹²⁶. It is being realized more clearly all the time that even the most technologically complex of human societies ignore nature at their peril. But in the Europe of the 16th and 17th centuries, the world of nature was seen as having been created for man's benefit. It was the task of man, created in God's image, to reduce nature to human concepts of order. From that point of view, the man who co-operated with nature and was thought to live within its framework was regarded as living according to nature in the manner of "bêtes brutes".

Supported by such an ideological climate, Europe's belief in the hairy

of Reality Testing", in *Canadian Psychiatry Ass. J.*, 17 (1972), 243-347. A recent publication is that of Don Hunter with René Dahinden, *Sasquatch*, Toronto, 1973. The universality of the concept of the hairy man is indicated by the Yeti, or "abominable snowman" of the Tibetans.

123. THEVET, *Singularitez*, 135.

124. Claude LEVI-STRAUSS, *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté*, Paris, 1949, particularly the introductory section ; and HALLOWELL, *Culture and Experience*, 89, 249. Voltaire also did not believe that human nature was capable of the solitary, rootless life implied by the concept of *l'homme sauvage*. "Essai sur les mœurs", in *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1878, 52 vols., 11, 19-20.

125. LEVI-STRAUSS, *Structures*, 30. Similarly, tattooing, body painting and rites of passage are uniquely human institutions. Le P. Yves [d'Evreux], while recognizing that tattooing was practiced by "nations policées", thought that the custom must be founded in nature as barbarous Brazilians "sans communication d'aucune autre Nation civilisée, l'aye inventée & exercée" ; *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil*, 44.

126. LEVI-STRAUSS, *Structures*, 9.

man was to prove extremely persistent in folklore despite mounting evidence against his existence. It was easier to prove orthodoxy wrong about the habitability of the Antipodes than it was to dispel popular mythology. The first was a case of intellectual argument in which some glee was found in discomfiting authority; but the second was a type of belief that existed independently of scientific fact. The same phenomenon was illustrated by belief in the unicorn, that mythological animal which the Wild Man was able to overcome by sheer physical force, a feat which a pure young lady could match by love. Throughout the Age of Discovery, the unicorn was reported from various parts of the world, including Canada and Florida¹²⁷. Thevet, in denying the existence of the unicorn, as well as that of dragons, sirens and griffons, displayed considerable courage¹²⁸. But he was not successful in slaying the mythical beast; after all, had not Clement VII presented Francis I with a unicorn horn three feet long on the occasion of the wedding of the latter's son, Henri d'Orléans, to Catherine de' Medici in 1533? The gift, considered to be beyond price, was also useful, as it was believed to sweat if placed near poison. As the Jesuits were to say of the Hurons, beliefs, no matter how apparently ridiculous, are hard to eradicate¹²⁹.

More importantly, however, Europe's belief in the savagery of Amerindians was to have profound consequences in the realm of practical politics in the New World, as it paved the way for one of the great movements of Western civilization, the colonization of the New World.

Olive P. DICKASON.

127. These sightings included an eye-witness account from Mecca (François de BELLEFOREST et Sebastian MÜNSTER, *Cosmographie universelle*, Paris, 1575, 2 vols., 1, 279), although Boemus held that unicorns were to be found only in India; *Recueil*, 1540, 65. Alfonse wrote of Norumbega (New England): "Et dient les Sauvages qu'il y a des Lycornes". "La Cosmographie" in *Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIII^e jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, éd. par Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1904, 497. The geographer John Ogilby (1600-1676) corroborated this by describing a wild animal to be found on the borders of Canada which he did not name but whose identity he indicates beyond doubt; OGILBY, *America*, 172. Sir John Hawkins, following his visit to the Ribault-Laudonnière colony in Florida, reported that the French had obtained pieces of unicorn horn from the Floridians, who wore them about their necks; HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations*, 10, 59.

128. André THEVET, *La Cosmographie universelle*, Paris, G. Chaudière, 1575, 19, 114. Geoffrey ATKINSON, *Les Nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française*, Paris, 1935, 279, said he was the only author of his period to do so.

129. THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, 12, 181.

RÉSUMÉ

On attribue généralement en Europe l'origine du concept de « l'homme sauvage » à la découverte du Nouveau Monde et à celle des Amérindiens. L'étude de ce concept révèle toutefois que ses débuts sont à la fois plus complexes et beaucoup plus anciens que cet aperçu ne l'indique d'abord. Ainsi, les Scythes étaient considérés comme « sauvages » par l'Antiquité, et c'est en suivant cette tradition que les écrivains de la Renaissance ont comparé les Amérindiens avec les « Scythiens ». Il semble caractéristique de toute civilisation d'avoir classé les étrangers comme barbares. En Europe, la personnification des forces anti-sociales comme « homme sauvage » (*wood-house* ou *wodewose* en Angleterre, *wildeman* dans les régions allemandes et flamandes), se sont propagées au XIII^e siècle. Ce personnage se reconnaît facilement : barbu, couvert de poil, portant une massue ou un arbre déraciné pour indiquer la force brute, errant en solitaire au sein des forêts. Incapable de gouverner ses passions, quasi cannibale et dépourvu de toute raison, cette manifestation mythologique paraît être le produit d'une convergence des divinités sylvaines de l'Antiquité avec les premiers primates qui aient été aperçus en Afrique et en Orient. « L'homme sauvage », est devenu un personnage populaire des carnavales et des spectacles, participant même aux tournois ; il a pris sa retraite comme support héraldique, situation où on le trouve encore aujourd'hui. Plus tard, on l'a identifié avec les Amérindiens en dépit des efforts des administrateurs coloniaux et des missionnaires pour combattre cette idée. Quoiqu'ils réfutassent la notion selon laquelle les Amérindiens fussent poilus, ces administrateurs ont accepté qu'ils fussent des « sauvages ». Si cette considération fut vite reconnue fausse par certains intellectuels, comme Montaigne — et il ne fut nullement le premier — elle n'était pas reconnue pour autant dans le domaine politique. Cette attitude a profondément influencé les rapports de l'Europe avec le Nouveau Monde et, ce faisant, a frayé la voie au grand mouvement colonisateur qui fit suite à sa découverte. L'ironie fut que les Amérindiens, comme les Européens, ont aussi personnifié les forces anti-sociales par un « sauvage poilu », dont un exemple bien connu fut le Sasquatch de la côte du Nord-Ouest.

SUMMARY

The formation of the concept of " *l'homme sauvage* " in Europe is usually traced to the discovery of the New World and Amerindians. However, an examination of the idea of savagery reveals that its origins are both more complex and far older than such a view would indicate. For example the Scythians were to the classical world what the Amerindians were to become to Europe ; when Renaissance writers compared the latter to the former, they were thinking within classical traditions. It seem to be charac-

teristic of all civilizations to class outsiders as barbarians. However, in Europe, the personification of anti-social forces as *l'homme sauvage* (woodhouse or wodewose in Britain, *wildeman* in Germanic and Flemish areas) became popular about the 13th century. This is an easily recognizable figure, bearded and hairy, carrying a club or uprooted tree to indicate great strength, and living a solitary life in the forests. A creature of uncontrolled passions and a tendency toward cannibalism as well as being devoid of reason, he seems to have emerged in this particular manifestation from a blending of classical woodland deities with reports of anthropoid apes, perhaps from early voyages along the coast of Africa and to the Orient. In any event, *l'homme sauvage* became a standard figure in carnivals and pageantry, even taking part in tournaments, and finally retiring into heraldry, where he remains to this day as a supporting figure in crests. Further, he became firmly identified with Amerindians in the minds of Europeans, in spite of efforts of colonial officials and missionaries to disabuse them of the idea. But even as officials denied that Amerindians were hairy, they accepted them as savage. While the error of this assessment was quickly recognized on the intellectual level, as witness Montaigne (and he was by no means the first), it was not acknowledged in the arena of practical politics. It profoundly influenced Europe's relations with the New World, and paved the way for the great colonization movements that followed on the heels of discovery. The irony of it all was that Amerindians, just like Europeans, conceptualized anti-social forces as hairy savages, one manifestation of which is the well-known Sasquatch of the North-West Coast.
